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LIFE IN THE WRITINGS
OF THOMAS SHEPARD

BY
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In the fall of 1634, Thomas Shepard, then a young man not quite twenty-nine years of age, set sail from the east coast of England with the purpose of chancing the hazards of what would practically be a winter voyage to New England. The sailing of the vessel on which he embarked had been announced several weeks before this, but various circumstances had detained her, and notwithstanding the fact that if one should make the voyage at that time of the year the passage to Boston could not be accomplished before the latter part of December, still it was determined by her owners to accept for the crew and the passengers the peril, the discomfort, and the suffering which would necessarily attend the trip, and for their craft the hazard of a winter approach to the dangerous New England coast. On the sixteenth of October, therefore, the vessel was permitted to sail from Harwich, having on board amongst others Thomas Shepard, his wife, and their infant son. That Shepard should have been willing to incur the exposure of such a voyage as this, is strong testimony to the peril of the situation in which he was then placed in England. Driven from pillar to post he had, notwithstanding his youth, become a marked man, and it was not only evident that he could not pursue his profession in England without sacrificing the tenets to which he was especially attached, but it was even probable that he might be punished for having disobeyed orders not to preach which had been given to him personally by Archbishop Laud, when Bishop of London, several years before. He had only been able of late to practise the functions of his office in remote districts, and if he ventured into parts where he was known he was obliged to exercise great discretion and remain in partial concealment. It was under the pressure of these circumstances that he sailed from Harwich, anticipating perhaps a voyage full of peril, but certainly without thought that even before he should be out of sight of land he would plunge into a violent storm which would utterly disable the ship and compel him three days thereafter to abandon her at Yarmouth. The experience of these three days was full of horror, and his sermons in after years bear evidence of the im-

pression then made on him, through the frequent use of marine metaphors evidently drawn in a large measure from this source.

The restraints imposed in England upon the movements of non-conformists were at that time being drawn closer and closer, and it was not an easy matter for Shepard to follow out his plan of emigration. The exposure of his family on the unfortunate vessel in which he made his first attempt had resulted shortly after his landing in the death of the child which had shared their perils. This misfortune in no way altered his determination to emigrate. He and his wife remained, therefore, quietly under cover waiting for another opportunity to get away. During this period of seclusion another son was born to them, so that when they sailed from London in August, 1635, the family was again the father, the mother, and the infant son. Their voyage, although marked by much rough weather, was not unusually long, and Boston, the place of their destination, was gained in October, a little less than a year after their first attempt to reach it.

One of the first needs of an immigrant on landing here in those days was a house. There were no places of public entertainment adequate for sheltering or feeding immigrants arriving in groups, and the permanent residents of Boston, even if their homes were elastic, could not take in all that arrived. The settlers who landed with Shepard were, therefore, in luck, in finding the question of house-hunting determined for them by the migration of the Hooker colony from Newtown to Hartford. Here, in Newtown, were vacant houses, so situated that they were available, which the owners wished to dispose of. They would at any rate serve a temporary purpose and were promptly appropriated by the newly arrived party.

The fact that Shepard was a conspicuous man in England and that he had been the victim of persecution was undoubtedly caused by the wonderful influence that he exercised as a preacher over his audiences. Even the sermons preached by him as a beginner were afterwards published without his privity. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him at once taking high rank among the New England clergymen. A new society, with Shepard at its head, was promptly organized in Newtown to fill the vacancy occasioned by the migration of Hooker and his followers, and when in 1637, in order to escape the political pressure of the believers in Mrs. Hutchinson who were then in the ascendant in Boston, the sessions of the General Court were trans-

ferred to Newtown, it was Shepard's strong influence, according to Cotton Mather, which secured the selection of that place as the site of a proposed college. Already it had been voted in 1636 that there should be a college and that the appropriation then nominally made should become available, one half the next year when the site should be selected, the other half when the building should be completed. Had the site been fixed in 1636, Shepard's voice might not have prevailed. As it was, with the Court holding its sessions in his own church, surrounded by his own people, and with himself in earnest in the work, he was able to accomplish his purpose.

It is obvious that there must have been some strong, moving power to influence the passage of the Act of 1636 prescribing that there should be a college. This Act did not in terms immediately appropriate any money — it was a mere promise or agreement to do this, and probably met with less opposition on that account, than if it had provided for an actual appropriation of £400 payable in whole or in part at once. Popular Acts which call for no immediate disbursements are at all times easy of passage, as was the case with resolves that statues should be erected in honor of the military heroes of the Revolution, in the early days of our Congress. When it came to making these resolves effective, that was another matter; and so with this Act of 1636, it would perhaps have died a natural death if somebody had not followed it up the next year and insisted upon the determination of the site as provided for in the original Act. Who it was in the General Court that did this we do not know, but what Cotton Mather says may help us to determine who inspired the action. The passage in Mather's *Life of Shepard* which justifies this statement makes the assertion that it was with respect unto "the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a college was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary."

It is clear that Shepard's desire to secure the planting of the College in Newtown was prompted by his general interest in the cause of education. He was himself an educated man, and he tells us in his *Autobiography* that he looked upon the College as "an opportunity of doing good to many by doing good to students." It was, in part at least, "at the desires of some of the students" that the *Theses Sabbaticæ* were published. It was at his instigation that the Commis-

sioners of the United Colonies recommended a general contribution in aid of the College. He stands revealed to us, therefore, not only as one having posthumous reputation, but as a person of command and influence in the community where he lived, and the esteem in which he was held was not only recognized by the General Court, in the adoption of Newtown as the site of the College, and in his appointment November 20, 1637, upon a committee to "take order for a Colledge at Newtowne," but found expression in the writings of contemporary authors, especially in the prefaces with which his fellow-workers introduced to readers his published sermons. It might be inferred, indeed, without this testimony that one who has left behind him so many published volumes of sermons and polemical treatises upon theological subjects, many of which have passed through numerous editions, must of necessity have received contemporary recognition; must as a matter of course have commanded the respect of the community in which he lived. Now, although we cannot identify the person in the General Court who introduced the Act of 1636 ordaining that there should be a college, we can see that he whose influence secured the adoption of its site was this powerful and influential preacher who has left such an extraordinary record behind him, a record of homage reaching to comparatively recent times, and culminating in the coupling of his name as a mark of esteem and honor in the title of a religious society in Cambridge.

Thus far in treating of Shepard's position in the community and his close connection with educational matters, we have dealt with accepted or obvious facts. Let us now, for the moment, enter the field of permissible conjecture, in an endeavor to show a probable association of his name with the bequest which has made Harvard immortal. Shepard was a graduate of Emmanuel College and it is not too presumptuous to say that to him as a fellow-graduate, John Harvard would, on arrival, have turned for counsel; for advice; for friendship. That the relations between the two were friendly, and that Shepard on his part esteemed Harvard, as we have just seen that Harvard must have esteemed Shepard, is shown by the allusion to Harvard in the Autobiography, at once the most touching, the most complete, and the most personal of the references to Harvard to be found. "This man," Shepard says, "was a scholar and pious in his life and enlarged toward the Country and the good of it in life and death." Who, more

likely then than Thomas Shepard, the earnest promoter of the college and the personal friend of John Harvard, to have been the man to suggest to Harvard the method which he adopted to make his little fortune useful to his country?

Such, in brief, was the man from whose writings I have extracted for the purposes of this paper, a few paragraphs; such was his position in the community; and such are the possibilities which associate his name with the foundation of the great University in Cambridge.

We have quite a number of publications to which we turn for information concerning the early life of our fathers. What cannot be found on the pages of one writer may perhaps be discovered elsewhere by the diligent student, but no matter how much we may unearth, there is so much more that we should like to know that we examine eagerly every new source of information which may possibly enlighten us upon the every-day life of the early settlers, or which may increase our knowledge concerning topics which, being common to all, and being known to all, were not thought worthy of record. Now, Thomas Shepard preached continuously to the little congregation in Cambridge nearly fourteen years, and he left behind him publications, or manuscripts which were subsequently published, numbering upwards of a volume for each year of his Cambridge pulpit service. He was a learned man, but was cut off from sources of literary study in Cambridge, concerning which isolation he pathetically observes, "I have no books about me where I am."¹ His writings are fortified with quotations from the Bible and references thereto, by chapter and verse, and occasionally, but very rarely, also with some general allusion to the writings of some profane author. Some of Shepard's works are in the nature of doctrinal treatises, some are sermons. Of these latter, some were delivered when in England, others were prepared for his Cambridge congregation; and it might be expected that somewhere in the pages of these volumes would be found hints which would reveal to us what we seek for in vain in the ordinary writings of the day — the interior life of a New England household in early times.

¹ *Some Select Cases Resolved* (Boston, 1747), p. 44.

Again, the authors of *A Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions* (London, 1648) say: "We had neither time nor Bookes ready at hand to Consider some of the quotations" (p. 29). Thomas Shepard and John Allen figure as the joint authors of this volume. Sabin treats it as identical with the *Treatise of Liturgies*, which is placed among the works of Shepard.

He who shall undertake to glean from the writings of Thomas Shepard such chance allusions as will help to reconstruct past life in Massachusetts will soon realize that the author had other motives in the publication of his works than to entertain his readers. This was apparent even to those of his contemporaries who furnished the press with his writings. William Greenhill and Samuel Mather when they brought out "Subjection to Christ," while they described his preaching as "close and searching," "with abundance of affection and compassion to his hearers," and while they asserted that he affected "plainness of speech" and did not "shoot his arrows (as many preachers do) over the heads of his hearers," yet felt compelled to add, "It is a stumbling block to some that his sermons are somewhat strict, and (as they term it) legal; ¹ some souls can relish none but meal-mouth'd Preachers, who come with soft and smooth and toothless words." If, therefore, we to-day meet with the same stumbling-block, it is a consolation to know that contemporary admirers realized its existence and felt compelled to allude to it in submitting one of these works to the public for approval. It must also be stated that it will be evident to any reader of these sermons that the cold words on the printed page do not convey to the reader the power which made them so influential with the hearers, and this fact, as well, is recognized by the author of the "Address to the Christian Reader" in the same volume, presumably Jonathan Mitchel, who says, "These posthumous Editions are farre short of what the Author was wont to do, and of what the Sermons were in preaching." "Reader," says Mitchel in the preface to the Parable of the Ten Virgins, "if thou comest hither to carp and cavil, or to criticise upon each circumstantial imperfection, this work is not for thy turn."

It was with the expectation of finding in these sermons some references to the little College in which Shepard was interested that I began an examination of their pages, and when I saw that "the desires of some of the students in the Colledge" had to do with "the more large discussing of the controversie," I felt confident that there must be allusions; inferences to be drawn from metaphors and illustrations; and finally deductions to be made from what was said to the audience,

¹ Legal may have a technical meaning here. Legalists are contrasted with Antinomians in contemporary literature. They were those who adhered to a rigorous administration of the word.

that would be helpful in filling out the story of the College and in sketching a picture of early life in Cambridge. While the result of this examination along these lines was a failure, the search was not absolutely without result. For instance, we have in *Theses Sabbaticæ* a minute description of what may be done with propriety on the Lord's Day, together with a statement of what ought not to be done. If we run through the enumeration therein of the things permitted and the things forbidden, we shall find that however much backsliders may have sloughed away, the legal rules for the observance of the Sabbath do not differ much from those which Shepard laid down and fortified with biblical references. These rules are of sufficient interest to quote in full. They are extracted from the *Sanctification of the Sabbath*.¹ After laying down certain general propositions the author goes on specifically as follows:

SUNDAY LAWS.

If any work be done for any worldly gain, profit or livelihood, to acquire and purchase the things of this life by, (which is the principal end of week-day labour, Eph. iv. 28; 1 Thess. iv. 12,) this is a servile work, all one with what the commandment calls "thy work." Hence buying, selling, sowing, reaping, which are done for worldly gaine, are unlawfull on this day, being therefore servile works: hence also worldly sports and pastimes (which are ordained of God to whet on worldly labour, not necessary every day but onely at some seasons) are therefore most proper appurtenances unto daies of labour, and are therefore unlawfull upon this day: holy Times are no more to be sported on then holy places; hence also on the other side, to rub the ears of Corne, to dress meat for comfortable nourishment of man, because they respect not worldly gaine, are no servile works nor yet unlawfull, but may be more lawfully done for the comfort of man then to lead his horse to the water this day. Luke 6: 2. & 13. 13. & 14. 5. hence also such works as are done onely for the preservation of the Creatures, as to pull a sheepe out of a ditch, to quench a fire in a Towne, to save Corne and Hay from the sudden inundation of Water, to keepe Fire in the Iron Mills, to sit at Sterne and guide the ship, and a thousand such like actions (being not done properly for worldly gaine) are not unlawfull: God himselfe not ceasing from workes of preservation when he did those of Creation: hence also such works as are not works of imme-

¹ *Theses Sabbaticæ, or The Doctrine of the Sabbath: etc., etc.* By Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridge in New England*. London, 1649. The Sanctification of the Sabbath . . . The fourth Part, p. 36 et seq.

diate worship, but onely required necessarily thereto, as killing the Sacrifices in the Temple, travelling a Sabbath daies journey to the publique assemblies, being no servile workes for outward gaine, are not unlawfull upon this day.

Hence the building of the Tabernacle (which was not so much for mans profit as God's honour) because it might be done upon the six daies seasonably enough hence it is prohibited upon the Sabbath day. Exod. 31. If a man hath Corn in the field, though he may pretend that the weather is uncertain, and it is ready to be brought into the Barn, yet he is not to fetch it upon the Sabbath day, because there is no eminent danger of spoyle the Monday after, and then he may fetch it as well as upon that day: the like may be said concerning Sea mens setting sayle upon the Sabbath day, though they be uncertaine of a faire gale upon the day after. Yet we must trust God's providence, who almost in all such matters keeps us at uncertainties: hence also the sweeping of the house ought not to be done now, if it may as well be done the day before: So also to buy any things at shops or to wash clothes; if they may be done the week before or after, they must not be done on this day: hence on the other side works of necessity, which cannot be so conveniently done the day before or after, are not unlawfull upon this day, as to flie in persecution, to watch the City, to fight with the Enemy, Math. 24. 24. 2 Kings 1. 2. Hence also works of necessity not onely for preservation of life, but also for comfort and comeliness of life are not unlawfull: for tis a grosse mistake to thinke that works onely of absolute necessity are allowed onely upon this day: for to lead an Ox to water, which in the strictest times was not disallowed of, is not of absolute necessity, for it may live more than a day without it; onely its necessary for the comfort of the life of the beast: how much more is allowed for the comfort of the life of man? The Disciples possibly might have lived longer than the Sabbath without rubbing Corn eares, and men may live on Sabbath daies generally without warme meat, yea they may fast perhaps all that day; yet it is not unlawfull to eate such meat, because its necessary for the comfort of life. Hence also to put on comely garments, to wash hands and face, and many things as are necessary for the comeliness as well as the comfort of life, are not unlawfull now: there is sometimes an inevitable necessity by God's providence, and sometimes a contracted necessity through want of care and foresight; in this case the work may sometime be done, provided that our neglect beforehand be repented of: in a word, he that shall conscientiously endeavor that no more work be done on the Sabbath than what must be done for the ends mentioned, that so he may have nothing else to doe but to be with God this day shall have much peace to his own conscience herein, against

Satans clamours: hence lastly, not onely outward servile work, but servile thoughts, affections, and cares, are to be cast off this day from the sight of God, as others are from the eyes of men; servile thoughts and affections being as much against the fourth Commandement as unchaste and filthy thoughts against the seventh.

Such were the rules laid down for the observance of the Sabbath by one whose word was law with his congregation. I think we can find running through them an unexpected liberality of thought. That which was necessary for the preservation of life came within the line of works not prohibited on the Sabbath, but so also did that which was essential for the comfort of animals; and if such consideration was felt for them, how much more might be done for man! It is not unlawful, he says, to eat warm meat on the Sabbath, and the inference is plain that it was not unlawful for Mrs. Shepard to prepare it for the table. That which was done specifically for gain was always unlawful. The practical definition of works of necessity and of merey permissible on the Lord's Day does not differ much from what can be extracted from our statutes and court decisions to-day.

But how about his congregation? Did they observe the day along the lines laid down by him? Listen to what he says to them. After asserting that God has set aside this day for man, he goes on as follows:¹

HOW THESE LAWS WERE BROKEN.

And is this the requitall, and all the thanks he hath for his heart-breaking love? to turne back sweet presence and fellowship, and love of God in them, to dispute away these daies with scorne and contempt, to smoke them away with Prophanenesse, and madde mirth, to Dreame them away with Vanity, to Drinke, to Sweare, to Ryot, to Whore, to Sport, to Play, to Card, to Dice, to put on their best Apparell that they may dishonour God with greater pompe and bravery, to talk of the World, to be later up that day than any other day of the Weeke, when their own Irons are in the fire, and yet to sleepe Sermon, or scorne the Ministry, if it comes home to their Consciences; to tell Tales, and break Jests at home, or (at best) to

¹ *Theses Sabbaticæ, or The Doctrine of the Sabbath: etc., etc.* By Thomas Shepard. Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridge in New England*. London, 1649. The Sanctification of the Sabbath . . . The fourth Part, p. 45.

talke of Forraigne or Domesticall newes onely to passe away the time, rather than to see God in his Workes and warme their hearts thereby: to thinke God hath good measure given him, if they attend on him in the Forenoone, althrough the Afternoone be given to the Devill, or sleepe, or vanity or foolish pastimes.

Who were these renegades, these dissipated rioters and card-players, who slept late Sunday mornings, and in addition took naps during sermon time; who thought their duty to the Church and their obligations to the day ended with the morning service; against whom Shepard was emptying his phials of wrath? Were they students? Were they members of his own congregation? Surely he had some cause for thus admonishing his hearers, but let us hope that in his anger his austere spirit overstated the case. At best, however, we must confess that there must have been recalcitrants in Cambridge in those days, that all was not harmony and peace. Over and over again he warns his hearers in unconventional language against the vices to which the young men of that day were exposed and from which one would have inferred that they might have been exempt in a pioneer rural community. "Men wonder," he says in one of his sermons, "why, in this country men are more vile than ever they were, men that gave great hopes; the reason is this, they have seemed to be under Christ's government, but secretly cast it off."¹

In *Subjection to Christ* he discusses at some length town-orders and deplures resistance to them. He lays down rules as to what laws are binding and what are not. To appreciate the full force of this discussion, it must be borne in mind that the government of the Colony was administered during nearly all of Shepard's pastorate without any code of laws. It was not until 1641 that the Body of Liberties was adopted and not until 1648 that a complete code of laws was secured. During this period the affairs of the Colony were carried on under the Charter, with no other provision for details of administration than an occasional statute. Important trials were held before the General Court of the Company; punishments were adjudged practically at the variable discretion of individual magistrates; members of religious societies were kept under control by church discipline; and town affairs were administered by officers — selectmen, we should

¹ *Subjection to Christ* (London, 1652), p. 25.

call them to-day — whose authority was derived from consent and generally recognized.

RESISTANCE TO TOWN OFFICERS.

Shepard puts a question, "When is power cast off in towns?" and proceeds to answer it as follows:¹ "When any Town doth cast off the power and rule of Townsmen . . . ?" He then goes on to say:

I know sometimes men may not be so able, wise, and carry matters imprudently: Town-orders may also sometimes want that weight, that wisdom, those cautions, that mature consideration as is meet, as also that due and prudent publication that all may know of them, with records of them. But take Town-orders that be deliberately made, prudently published, for the publick peace, profit, comfort of the place, to oppose these, or persons that make these, with much care, fear, tendernes; If I know anything, is a sin of a crying nature, provoking God, and casting off his government, I confesse, if there be not care here; I know no way of living under any government of Church or Common-Wealth, if the publick affaires of the Town be cast off.²

Note the strength of this last sentence, and bear in mind the undeveloped state of the colonial form of government. Then think how much it meant to say that whether under the government of the Church or of the Commonwealth, still there must be loyal obedience to those who were engaged in administering the affairs of the towns. These strong expressions must have been occasioned by resistance to town officers and repudiation of town-orders as he terms them, which came immediately under his observation and touched him closely.

He then goes on to discuss the question of how far men's consciences are bound by town-orders and human laws. In doing this he lays down a definition of the source of law, which is perhaps worthy of notice.

ALL LAWS FROM THE SCRIPTURE.

He says:

All good laws and orders inacted in any place by men, are either expressly mentioned in the word or are to be collected and deducted from

¹ Subjection to Christ (London, 1652), Quest. 3, p. 120.

² Ibid. Answ. 2, p. 122.

the word, as being able to give sufficient direction herein. For all the authority of the highest power on earth in contriving of lawes, is in this alone, *viz.* to make prudent collection and speciall application of the general rules, recorded in Scripture, to such special and peculiar circumstances which may promote the publick weal, and good of persons, places, proceedings.¹

The foregoing shows Shepard's sympathy with Cotton, who was then preparing his proposed Code of Laws for the establishment of a Theocracy.² We must therefore refer to his English experience the following exposition of a legal proposition: "Its a known thing among men, that a Father may receive a gift or Legacy given to him, and his heires, and he, and his heires are bound to perform the conditions of the Covenant."³

COLONIAL AFFAIRS.

We can obtain from time to time Shepard's views as to the condition of the Colony in its relations to the outer world. Unfortunately, there is nothing on the surface to aid us in determining the dates when the several sermons were preached from which the extracts are procured. "New Englands peace and plenty of means breeds strange security,"⁴ he says in one of his publications, but farther on in the same volume we find the following: "I do fear there is at this day as deep mischief plotting against New England as ever the sun saw."⁵ This apparent contradiction may, perhaps, be explained by the supposition that the strange security arose from ignorance of the plotting. In one of his sermons he enlarges upon the peaceful condition of the country:

The reports of divisions in New England are fables: The churches here are in peace; The Commonwealth is in peace; The Ministry in most

¹ Subjection to Christ (London, 1652), p. 124.

² May 25, 1636, "M^r Shepeard" was one of a committee appointed by the General Court to prepare "a draught of lawes agreeable to the word of God, w^{ch} may be the Fundamentalls of this com^{mon}wealth" (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 174). March 12, 1637-38, "M^r Shepard" — one of several who were described as "elders of severall churches" — was also on a committee appointed by the same body for a similar purpose (ibid. i. 222). This Shepeard or Shepard was probably our Shepard.

³ The Church Membership of Christ, p. 26.

⁴ The Parable of the Ten Virgins (London, 1660), p. 106.

⁵ Ibid. p. 166.

sweet peace; The Magistrates (I should have named first) in peace; All our families in peace; We can sleep in the woods in peace, without fear of the Indians, for fear is fallen upon them.¹

Again in a controversial publication he describes the Colony in the following words:

A Commonwealth erected in a Wildernesse, and in so few yeares brought to that state, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English Colonies in the richest places of this America.²

It would probably be a comparatively easy matter, by reviewing the various episodes in the history of the Colony, to determine what caused these different expressions on the part of the writer. This task, however, I shall not undertake in this connection.

The foregoing represent all that attracted my attention in the volumes of Shepard's sermons that I have examined, in which matters pertaining to the general affairs of the Colony or of the towns were discussed at any length. There remain to be considered, inferences as to the condition of society which may be drawn from the character of the advice offered or warnings given by the preacher, deductions to be drawn from metaphors or illustrations used, and occasional isolated expressions of opinion which when grouped together will show what the speaker thought upon some topic of interest. Among these the most natural place to expect results from an examination would be the metaphors or illustrations. One might almost assume that he would enforce an argument now and then by drawing some illustration from daily life, or by making some comparison based upon a parallel in the ordinary experience of the residents of the little village in which they lived. The resources of this field are greatly reduced, however, by the custom which then prevailed among clergymen of reinforcing every argument with some biblical text or scriptural analogy. Nevertheless we can find a few hints as to life drawn from these sources which, whatever their value, may prove of interest.

NAUTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

I have already mentioned the fact that the impression made by his nautical experiences is registered in Shepard's sermons. No other

¹ New England's Lamentation for Old England's Errours (1644), p. 5.

² A Treatise of Liturgies . . . in answer to Mr. . . . Ball, p. 8.

portion of his career furnishes so many metaphors or is so freely drawn upon for illustration. The conditions of a vessel in port or at sea, under calm or during storm, at anchor or breasting the waves, in peril or in safety, are all made use of. The courage of the sailor and his confidence under circumstances of evident danger, his prudence in carefully inspecting everything about the ship before going to sea, his caution in approaching the coast, indeed, nearly every conceivable phase of his existence, is made use of by the preacher to enforce an argument or to illustrate a proposition. It may be that if he had spent the greater part of his life on the ocean and only a few weeks at Cambridge, the peculiarities of rural life in America would have made the same preponderant impression upon him, and we should have had from him a record of how people lived in New England instead of such copious references to the experience of sailors. It is to be noted in this connection that it is the ship and the sailor which furnish these metaphors and illustrations. The mighty power of the ocean itself, its monstrous waves, the cruel surf raging along the shore, have no place in his vocabulary.

SLEEPING IN CHURCH.

One inference may be drawn from these sermons, namely, that notwithstanding the fact that Shepard obviously relied for his effects upon his personal touch with his congregation, he nevertheless was compelled to take note that some of his audience took naps while he was preaching. The tendency towards this act of discourtesy would be affected somewhat by the length of his sermons. The solution of this question may perhaps be found in a reference to those "that come out of the Church when the tedious Sermon runs somewhat beyond the hour."¹ While this expression is capable of a broad interpretation which would not limit "the tedious Sermon" to the length of one hour, it seems to me probable that such is its natural reading.

I have already quoted the expression "and yet to sleepe Sermon" which was included in a category of evil doings against which he warned his hearers. In another place he refers to men who "neglect prayer and sleep out sermons."² Again he says, "We have Ordinances to the full,

¹ The Sincere Convert (London, 1659), p. 69.

² The Parable of the Ten Virgins (London, 1660), p. 226.

Sermons too long, and Lectures too many, and private meetings too frequent.”¹ “Some Sermons,” he says, “men can sleep them out.”² These quotations are enough to show that he was troubled by this lack of attention on the part of some of his hearers. There are more phrases of the same sort, but their recapitulation is not necessary.

We can gather no idea from his sermons of his own pulpit manners, but when he remarks, “People are naturally moved by a thundering minister,”³ we may perhaps conjecture that he had some person in mind whose preaching suggested this adjective; nor does the epithet convey the idea of thorough approval.

IRON MILLS.

The reference heretofore given to the fire in the iron mills, which it was permissible to keep going on Sunday, brings before us the strenuous efforts put forth by the early colonists to make something out of the bog ore of New England.

HOUSEWORK.

We have seen that washing clothes was not permissible on Sunday, and that sweeping ought not to be done on that day if it could be done on Saturday. I have met with one other allusion of interest to the house-wife, namely: “Doth he not let thee like a broom, lie behind the door?”⁴ Evidently broom closets were uncommon, and as for the broom itself, we must not think of it as made of broom corn. Probably it was made of birch or willow twigs. The phrase, “Here are no sour herbs to make the Lamb sweet,”⁵ may perhaps be regarded as pertaining to the domain of the kitchen.

TABLE MANNERS.

As for hints at daily life there are few. “Its from the excellency of a knife to cut well, but to cut my fingers with it when I should be

¹ The Parable of the Ten Virgins (London, 1660), part ii. p. 5.

² Ibid. p. 6.

³ Some Select Cases Resolved (Boston, 1747) p. 49.

⁴ The Parable, p. 103.

⁵ Ibid. p. 106.

cutting my meat with it, ariseth not from the end of the knife, nor from the intention of him who made it,"¹ is, however, a reference to a daily peril at meal-times. It brings before us the adage, "Fingers were made before forks," the application of which will show how the fingers of one having no fork were in danger when he cut his meat.

COIN SCALES.

"When there is much counterfeit Gold abroad, every man will have his scales, and not only look and rub, but he will weigh every piece he takes."² Here we have an indication of what was essential for every person who received coins in those days of degraded and short weight money. The scales were a necessary part of every pecuniary transaction, even if the question of counterfeit coin did not come in.

GARDENING.

"As with Apricott trees rooted in the earth, but leaning on the wall,"³ obviously refers to the method of training fruit trees on walls with southern exposures which prevails to-day in England; but "A Gardiner may intend to turn a Crab tree stock into an Apple-tree, his Intention will not alter the Nature of it until it be actually ingrafted upon"⁴ may have been suggested by grafting accomplished in Cambridge gardens.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND VISITING COMMITTEES.

"I conceive," he says, "'tis casting off Christs power, to take away any power from Magistrates to punish sins against the first Table; of which errors and heresies in Religion are part."⁵ This fairly expresses his hostile and unyielding attitude towards those whom he considers heretics, and yet his liberality leads him to urge his parishioners to welcome strangers. He says:

Many complain that New England hath so little love, Non-members not visited, not regarded (though many times unjustly). Oh, they thought

¹ Certain Select Cases Resolved, p. 7.

² The Parable, p. 223.

³ Ibid. p. 127.

⁴ The Sound Believer (Boston, 1742), p. 206.

⁵ Subjection to Christ, p. 116.

to see so much love, and care, and pity; but here they may live and never be spoken to, never visited! Oh, take heed of this; Nothing beautifies a Christian in the eyes of others more than much love (hypocrisie is naught :) Oh excellence; visit poor families, sit one half hour and speak to discouraged hearts. Shew kindness to strangers; Such you were; I'll warrant God will bless you, this was the Glory of Christ, full of grace and truth.¹

The visiting committee dates back, it will be seen, to colonial times.

ARMOR.

In those days our soldiers wore armor. Shepard refers to this, setting forth the reluctance of a man to expose himself without his armor; "but," he adds, "when he hath his armour on of proof, and such armour that he knows let him receive never so many wounds, yet he shall escape with his life,"² then he is ready to go forward.

SOLDIERS.

As for soldiers themselves, he regards the individual as unobjectionable, but he says "when they are got into a knot together; now they go strong against all lawes of God or man."³ Evidently he had experienced some serious difficulty with riotous soldiers, for he goes on to say, with an apology for what has just been repeated: "'Tis not now an Artillery day, only I must speak a word, because it is a thing of moment and matter of great conscience with me."⁴

INDIANS AND BEGGARS.

He evidently had not much use for the native red men and speaks of them "as poor naked Indians,"⁵ "poor Indians, herds of beasts."⁶ As for beggars, one would not expect to find any indication of professional mendicancy in a pioneer community. There are nevertheless references to beggars, and the following smacks of professional

¹ The Parable, part ii. p. 61.

² Ibid. p. 41.

³ Subjection to Christ, pp. 119-120.

⁴ Ibid. p. 121.

⁵ The Parable, p. 89.

⁶ Subjection to Christ, p. 192.

methods: "it is with faith as with a poor woman that hath a child, and hath nothing in the world to give it, she takes the child at her back and goeth from door to door, and what she getteth she giveth to the child."¹

SERVANTS.

A large part of the hard work in the Colony was performed in those days by indentured servants. During their term of service the position of these servants was anomalous. They shared with their masters the exposure incident to pioneer life under conditions of climatic changes which made it inevitable that even the best protected must suffer, and in addition they were subject to the caprices of those having charge of their work. The time of the servant belonged absolutely to the master, and the latter had the right to compel the service of the former by any means at his command. The relations between master and servant were therefore suitable topics for advice from a preacher, and Shepard discusses the matter on several occasions. He asserts that there is much discontent; that servants are weary of their masters and masters weary of their servants; that each complains of the other.

The Master saith the Servant is unruly, froward, surly, slothful, unfaithful, untrusty, and must not be spoken to; the Servant saith his Master is passionate, unkinde, wants pity to his body, and sometimes strikes him without cause, and much more careless of his soul, never instructs him.²

He says that one who has not yet been adopted by the Church is as yet no son but a slave to Satan, "a servant at best, working for Wages only, and fear of the Whip, who shalt not always abide in God's House as Sons shall do."³ He speaks of servants casting off their subjection "to their Governour," and discusses the condition of affairs as follows:

When they are not obedient, but answer again; if they be let alone, then idle; if rebuk'd and curb'd, then stubborne and proud and worse for chiding; and finde fault with their wages, and victuals and lodging; weary and vex out the heart of Master and Mistresse, and make them

¹ The Saints Jewel, p. 181. This is printed in connection with The Sincere Convert, with continuous pagination.

² The Parable, part ii. p. 55.

³ The Sound Believer, p. 216.

weary of their lives; their God also almost sometimes; and that by such professing Religion, and all that they might be from under the yoke.¹

Here we have a picture of a condition of affairs in the Colony in Shepard's day which is in some respects appalling. Servants discontented, insolent and rebellious, held to their work by fear of the whip, and seeking to ameliorate their condition by hypocritical pretensions of conversion. On the other hand, the masters are accused of being captious, wilful, and indifferent to the welfare of the servants, and the result is that masters and mistresses are weary of their lives.

SICKNESS, REMEDIES, AND MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Of sickness we have only allusions to the capriciousness of the appetite of a consumptive.² Shepard had suffered in his family from the inroads of this disease, and doubtless his comments were based upon experience. Of remedies and medical practice there are but few hints. Men, he intimates, will not go to drug stores or call upon physicians if they have remedies at hand — or to quote his own words:

Now if a fainting man have *Aqua-Vitæ* at his beds head he will not knock up a Shop-Keeper for it. Men that have a Balsome of their own to heal them, will not go to a Physitian.³

In the following excerpt, not only do we have a reference to one of the great remedies of the day, but a suggestion as to methods of administration which seems reasonable. "As surgeons when they let a man bleed, bid him look another way."⁴ The sick-room diet and tonics are set forth as follows:

Men that are sick and like to die, can eat no common wholesom meat, but are now nourished by conserves, and Alchermies, and Spirits of Gold.⁵

Alchemy, the predecessor of chemistry, furnishes this title for a compounded prescription, while in the last mentioned we have the famous *aurum potabile*.

Here also is a bit of contemporary nursing practice:

¹ Subjection to Christ, p. 132.

² The Parable, pp. 107, 166.

³ The Sincere Convert, p. 161.

⁴ The Saints Jewel (London, 1659), p. 197. Printed with the Sincere Convert and having continuous pagination.

⁵ The Parable, p. 110.

What is the End of the Mother in laying Wormwood and Gall upon her Breast, but that the Child by tasting the Bitterness of it might be weaned and have his Stomach and Will turned from it.¹

The comparison of the relative merits of "dish-milk and flit-milk" with "breast-milk" as food obviously belongs in the same category.² If he had spelled "flit" "fleet," we could easily have identified it with skimmed milk by means of our dictionaries.

The reduction of inflammation in the case of a burn is thus expressed: "As 'tis in Burnings so the Fire must be first taken out before there can be any healing."³ His views as to the proper treatment of a demented person bring before us with painful precision the lamentable condition of these unfortunates until quite recent times, if indeed we can feel positively assured that the opinion that he expresses has everywhere disappeared:

Sick and weake men are to be tender'd much, but Lunatick and Phanatick men are in best care; when they are fetter'd and bound.⁴

PHYSICS.

His knowledge of the laws of physics is perhaps up to the times in which he lived, and his references to the subject, although rare, are just enough to give an idea of what it amounted to. "It's a question," he says, "whether the beams of the Sun are fire: Some demonstrate it thus, Take a Glasse and gather together the beams, it burns."⁵ Here is his explanation of the law of gravity:

As 'tis with a stone, cast it up its against the bent of it, because the nature of it is to rest in the Centre, and hence it comes down again. It is not by internal bent but by external *vis* or force.⁶

A few pages further on in the volume from which the last quotation was extracted he reveals a theory prevalent in his day in the following words:

¹ The Sound Believer, p. 62.

² The Parable, part ii. p. 97.

³ The Sound Believer, pp. 111, 112.

⁴ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 43.

⁵ The Parable, p. 57.

⁶ Ibid. p. 211.

Some naturalists observe, that Brass would be Gold, it tends to it, had it but more heat of the Sun to correct it, and to bring it to perfection.¹

The following will be recognized as a description of the telescope: "Optick glasses will take within them the present image of things afar off."² He speaks several times of "Bristoe Stones" which resemble pearls so closely that Jewellers alone can distinguish them. He refers in this to Bristol Stones, which being rock crystal might perhaps be mistaken for diamonds, the word pearls being used in this connection in its generic sense, for valuables or jewels. He does, indeed, in one place say, "There are your *Bristow* Stones like Diamonds."³

Speaking of the malleability of lead he says, "as *Austin* shows by a Similitude of Lead which some Artists can beat so small as to make it swim,"⁴ and he describes sympathetic or invisible ink in the following terms: "As letters writ with the juice of Oranges, cannot be read until brought under the fire."⁵ Referring to magnetic attraction, he says: "Just as it is with the Load-stone drawing the Iron, who would think that the Iron would be drawn by it? But there is a secret Vertue coming from the Stone which draws it; and so it comes and is united to it."⁶

GEOGRAPHY.

The Beginning of the Sabbath is devoted to a discussion of the hour when the day should begin and includes, of course, the time when it should end. By means of a geographical illustration he disposes of certain theories of which he disapproves. After stating that some would measure the Sabbath by the daylight, would have it from the sun-rising to sun-setting, he goes on — "but if the day-light be the measure of the Sabbath, those that live in some parts of *Russia* and East-land must have once a yeere a very long Sabbath, for there are some times of the yeere wherein they have day-light a moneth together."⁷

¹ The Parable, p. 227.

² The Parable, part ii. p. 23.

³ The Sincere Convert, p. 114.

⁴ The Sound Believer, p. 238.

⁵ The Sincere Convert, p. 52.

⁶ The Sound Believer, p. 142.

⁷ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Beginning of the Sabbath, p. 3.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

References to English history are rare in Shepard's pages, but one, at least, is worth noting. "Remember," he says, "that the Discovery of *Faux* in the Vault, was the Preservation of *England*."¹ The celebration of Guy Fawkes's day was likely to impress this event upon his memory in a special manner since he was born upon the 5th of November, 1605.

HERBALISTS.

Naturalists were not so closely subdivided in those days as they are to-day. Moreover, not much attention was then paid to the study of the various branches of natural science. It is not strange, therefore, to find none of them mentioned, unless under herbalists he meant botanists. He speaks of the herbalist who finds out about plants from books, but perhaps treads under foot the very plants that he is after, without knowing them.² This might pass for the description of an incompetent botanist, but when he speaks of "Herbalists, that treat of the Sovereign excellencies of several herbs," he evidently refers to an herb doctor, and when he adds, "but when they come to gather them in the garden, they take their counterfeits in the room of them,"³ he shows his contempt for them. The similarity of the ending of each reference makes it probable that he only had in mind herbalists who made use of herbs in their therapeutics.

CHILDREN'S MANNERS.

The ladies of his congregation must at times have shrunk under his castigating criticisms. Here, for instance, is one that may have penetrated many a household: "What little hope of a happy generation after us, when many among us scarce know how to teach their children manners?"⁴

BANKRUPTCY AND IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Bankruptcy and imprisonment for debt furnish illustrations drawn from the conditions of colonial trade. It is evident that somewhere,

¹ The Sound Believer, p. 33.

³ Ibid. p. 215.

² The Parable, p. 41.

⁴ The Parable, part ii. p. 7.

perhaps in England, he had seen some respectable merchant who had failed in business reduced to the necessity of peddling the wares that he formerly sold over the counter.¹ The fact that such an one has no other resource than to begin life again on the same lines in a smaller way impressed him, and he alludes to it more than once. He refers to one "in chains for debt,"² without expression of sympathy, simply saying that if the debtor gets out without satisfying the debt he will be taken again; if, however, the debt is satisfied, he will be set free.

ACTORS AND LOVERS.

During Shepard's collegiate career he tasted some of those experiences in life which were frowned upon by the nonconformist preachers of his day, and it is perhaps to that period of wider experience that we owe references to actors who act the part of kings but "look upon them in their tiring rooms they are but base varlets."³ Perhaps also it is to this interval of gayer life that we owe "the foolish lover," who when he goes to woo a lady falls "in love with her hand-maid that is only to lead him to her."⁴ It would seem to be quite sure that this could not be founded on an experience in rural New England.

FOOTBALL.

Shepard knew nothing of the Rugby game of football. The old-fashioned game was to be won by superiority of kicking. The following reference seems to bring Satan before us as an expert in the kicking game: "Satan now appears with the ball at his foot, and seems to threaten in time to carry all before him, and to kick and carry God's precious Sabbaths out of the world with him."⁵

HUMOR.

Humor is, perhaps, the last thing we should look for in these sermons. Yet there are indications that Shepard could appreciate humorous satire. "Wrastling with his shadow,"⁶ and "can see no

¹ The Parable, part i. p. 80; The Sincere Convert, p. 163.

² The Parable, part i. p. 191.

³ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 88.

⁴ Ibid. p. 175.

⁵ Ibid. p. 49.

⁶ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Morality of the Sabbath, p. 28.

further than his own buttons,"¹ are both of them pointed, vigorous, and humorous expressions, which need no glossary. "*Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*,"² he says when he trips up an opponent in a polemical discussion. "He who keeps not his shop, his shop will not keep him,"³ is a saying of profound truth but decidedly humorous. "The Elder's foot is now too big for his shoe"⁴ must have tickled his congregation, especially if they could make a personal application of the saying. "And not set the whole house on fire to roast their own Eggs"⁵ squarely anticipates Charles Lamb's method of roasting a pig.

ENGLISH FLOUR.

In a category of evils, such as: "the Family is sick; the Cattle die; Servants are unfaithful;" he puts on even terms with the foregoing, "the English flower is gone."⁶ The colonists in early times were frequently dependent upon Indian meal, but this gives a hint of their real liking for wheaten flour.

POLITICS.

In 1638 Shepard preached the Election Sermon. An abstract of what was then said has fortunately been preserved. The Sermon was inspired by the exciting political events of that year. Vane's indiscreet manifestation of his interest and faith in Mrs. Hutchinson permitted Winthrop easily to undermine his power outside of Boston. The Court of Election was, through Winthrop's adroitness, held at Cambridge. The day was full of excitement and of personal conflict, and the result was the overthrow of Vane. The Sermon is full of veiled personal allusions, from which I select one which undoubtedly refers to Vane's following and at the same time expresses a view as to the political opinions of the people which would pass current to-day.

¹ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Morality of the Sabbath, p. 88.

² A Treatise of Liturgies, p. 42.

³ Subjection to Christ, p. 92.

⁴ Ibid. p. 106.

⁵ Preface by Thomas Shepard — without pagination — to A Reply to a Confutation of some Grounds for Infants Baptisme, by George Phillips (London, 1645). See sixth page.

⁶ The Parable, part ii. p. 103.

"The multitude," says Shepard, "are exceeding apt to be led by colours, like birds by glasses and larks by lures." ¹

SEPARATISTS.

The phrase "Anabaptists, Familists and rigid Separatists, and who have privily crept into *New-England* churches," ² is very striking. The classification of the rigid Separatists with obnoxious people like Familists and Anabaptists betrays an unlooked for clinging to the Anglican Church on the part of a people who had abandoned all outward signs of adhesion to that Church, and of a pastor who looked upon it as sinful that he took out a licence in London to preach. This phrase is introduced in a discussion of church government. Men who will not acknowledge the authority of the church rules arrogate to themselves the entire authority of the church, "not only," he says, "single members or Officers, but Pastor, and Teacher and Elder and all." ³ Such men are especially to be found among Anabaptists, etc.

Dunster, the President of the College, was an Antipædobaptist, and his outspoken views on this subject ultimately led to the termination of his collegiate service. Shepard on his part very likely had Dunster in view in some of his hits at Anabaptists. His allusions to the doctrine which Dunster held in such esteem are at all times contemptuous. For instance, speaking of Anabaptists, he says:

They would not have any Children to be Baptized: and so they make the condition of the Children of the Saints of God (dear to God), in as miserable an estate as the Children of any Turk or Pagan and but as lawful to Baptize them, as a Cat or a Dog. ⁴

Again, in a preface to a publication by a friend, he says:

It is much to be feared, that the doctrine of *Anabaptisme*, especially in this controversie concerning Infants, will gangrene farre, and leaven much; ⁵

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 363.

² Subjection to Christ, p. 100.

³ Ibid. p. 100.

⁴ Wine for Gospel Wantons: or Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness (Cambridge, 1668), p. 9.

⁵ This is to be found on the third page of a preface by Shepard, which has no pagination, to A Reply to a Confutation of Some Grounds for Infant Baptisme, by George Philips (London, 1645).

Such language as this concerning a doctrine which Dunster held so dear indicates that there must have been friction between these two men, holding the most important positions in the little village in which they both lived. This might perhaps have been inferred from Shepard's *The Church Membership of Children*, which warmly advocates his ideas upon this subject.

ARCHAIC EXPRESSIONS.

When we meet archaic expressions or run across unusual customs, we cannot feel sure that an explanation of these is to be sought in New England manners and customs. Shepard brought over with him memories of Old England, and his rules of life are deduced from the Scriptures. The New Testament, for instance, furnishes authority for the propriety of rubbing ears of corn on the Sabbath,¹ while it is the Mosaic Law which prohibits work on the Tabernacle on that day.² "Kitchen physick,"³ an expression used more than once, probably came from over the water, but it doubtless referred to food as the best cure for the disease of hunger. "Fired him out,"⁴ which occurs in the *Autobiography* as well as in a sermon, sounds like slang, but it has Shakespeare behind it, and when he wrote "the Bishop fired me out," he evidently meant to put the transaction in vivid form. A reference to "Bonners Cole-house"⁵ coupled with Newgate as a place where those were confined who would not "subscribe" — an allusion presumably to persecutions for heresy — brings before us Bishop Bonner and the Windsor Coal-house, a reference familiar probably to his hearers, but obscure to most of us to-day. "Kiss the clinke"⁶ is another quaint expression that is met with, the reference being plainly to the prison called the Clink. "Walke thus with thy bootes Frenche like"⁷ apparently from the context means to walk pompously, to strut, while on the other hand there is an idea of depression in the description of one whose heart sinks when sin and weakness, death and condem-

¹ Luke, vi. 2.

² Exodus, xxxi. 15.

³ The Parable, p. 18.

⁴ *Autobiography*, p. 34.

⁵ *Subjection to Christ*, p. 97. For the explanation of this I am indebted to Professor Roger B. Merriman.

⁶ *Subjection to Christ*, p. 11

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 27.

nation wrap him about like "Jonah's Weeds."¹ The expression "John's candle flies" may perhaps be based upon some of the illuminations on the eve of St. John's Day.²

The foregoing extracts have been obtained from eleven different volumes,³ printed under the titles given heretofore in the notes, and containing in some instances subdivisions with separate titles, or perhaps two or more sermons, each with its own sub-title. Besides these I have examined three other publications which yielded nothing serviceable for my purposes.⁴ The various editions of Shepard's works which have appeared from 1641 down to the present time, in one form or another, the authorship of which cannot be questioned, number sixty-eight. Besides these Allibone gives three other titles, all of which are questionable, one being — I am quite sure — a pamphlet by Giles Firmin.⁵ Sabin gives the titles of twenty-one editions of *The Sincere Convert*, and fourteen of *The Sound Believer*. Fortunately for the person who cares to examine Shepard's writings, these are all reprints, so that the examination of one will do for all bearing the same title. While these extracts from Shepard's sermons throw some light upon colonial life, they are perhaps of more interest to the topical student than to the general reader. At all events, they reveal to us that our ancestors were human.

¹ *The Sound Believer*, p. 101. For the meaning of this, Professor Kittredge, who has helped me in solving some of these questions, says: See *Jonah*, ii. 5.

² *Certain Select Cases Resolved*, p. 49.

³ (1) *Autobiography*. (2) *The Church Membership of Children*. (3) *New England's Lamentation for Old England's Errours*. (4) *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*. (5) *The Saints Jewel*, with *The Sincere Convert*. (6) *The Sincere Convert*. (7) *Some [or Certain in some editions] Select Cases Resolved*. (8) *The Sound Believer*. (9) *Subjection to Christ*. (10) *Theses Sabbaticæ*. (11) *Treatise of Liturgies*. (12) *Wine for Wanton Gospellers*. *The Saints Jewel*, which is separately cited, is only to be found in connection with *The Sincere Convert*. *The Day-breaking if not the Sun-rising*, etc., is the title of another pamphlet included by Sabin among Shepard's works, but not considered by me as entitled to this attribution.

⁴ *The Clear Sun Shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians*, etc., separately published; *First principles of the Oracles of God*, to be found in *Three Valuable Pieces*; and *Meditation and Spiritual Experiences*, also to be found in *Three Valuable Pieces*, but which was subsequently published by itself. *The Sincere Convert* in the form of a translation into the Indian tongue is also to be seen in some of our libraries.

⁵ *The Liturgical Considerator Considered in Reply to Dr. Gaudon*, London, 1661.

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